DEMOCRATIC
GERMAN REPORT

Vol. XIII No. 5 March 6th 1964 Price: 15 Pf, 5c, 3d.

Nazi Generals Demand Nuclear Arms

The nazi generals who run the West German armed forces are demanding independent control of nuclear weapons, and the right for the general staff to use them without consulting the government.

This was revealed in a secret memorandum drafted in the Bonn Ministry of Defence in spring 1963 which has now come into the hands of the German Democratic Republic. Sections of the memorandum, entitled "Study on the Reorganisation of the Federal Ministry for Defence, and on the Future Tasks of the Forces", were made public on February 27th at a press conference in East Berlin.

Some of the main points made by the memorandum were:

1. **Nuclear weapons are today a symbol of state sovereignty.**
2. **West Germany should be given control over nuclear weapons.**
3. **West Germany cannot rely upon some of its allies.**
4. **West Germany can negotiate with the Soviet Union when it has the bomb.**
5. **West German field commanders must have direct control of atomic warheads, and discretion to use them.**
6. **The military leadership must be entitled to use such weapons without consulting the government.**

Quotations from the Secret Memorandum

Here are some of the most important paragraphs, quoted literally from the document:

In the present period of history, possession and control over nuclear weapons are becoming the symbols of the sovereignty of a state.

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The cold war between the Communist eastern block and the Free World has increased in intensity, even though Khrushchov wishes to awaken illusions with his alleged detente. This alone is ground enough to increase steadily the military strength of NATO. The geographic position, and in addition the political position which has grown up since 1945, make it necessary for German wishes to be taken into account.

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Factually the Federal Republic is in a state of minor influence with regard to the possession of, and control over, nuclear weapons. In view of the growing threat of communism, nobody can relieve the German nation and its soldiers, who already make a big contribution to the defence of the free nations, from the responsibility for still greater defence contributions. **This naturally entails that Germany shall no longer be excluded from co-decision and co-responsibility for nuclear weapons.**

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At present the military planning of the German Federal Republic is still much too dependent upon the decisions of some of our allies — in some cases to an intolerable degree. Everybody knows that it would have been possible to tear down the wall built by the Ulbricht regime on August 13th 1961, if the President of the United States had compelled Khrushchov to retreat under the threat of the entire military and economic power of NATO.

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The task which fate has posed for our people is reunification with the Soviet occupied zone, and efforts **for the restoration of the German Reich in the frontiers of 1937.**

The Federal Government will then (when it has nuclear arms, trans.) also be **ready to negotiate with the Soviets, on the basis of a great military potential including the most modern weapons;** this is the only way to make progress in re-uniting the 17 million people of the Zone with the free part of Germany.

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The commander of the NATO Ground Forces in Europe must base his plans on the fact that **some of the NATO states do not fulfil their military commitments very convincingly.** Our British allies have, of course, commitments outside central Europe and outside Europe, but these commitments must not be allowed to be fulfilled at the cost of the strength of the British Army of the Rhine. In the same way the French forces must be encouraged to reach their planned NATO strength. Apart from the 7th US Army, it is mainly the divisions of the Bundeswehr which are fully integrated. This must in future be reflected in the composition of the NATO staffs.

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The equipment of the Bundeswehr with tactical nuclear weapons is urgently necessary, if the Bundeswehr is to fulfil the tasks assigned by NATO. The Federal Government and the leaders of the Bundeswehr must therefore continue to urge as the next step participation in an integrated nuclear force; the Federal

Republic must play a fitting role in this force.

It is absolutely necessary that atomic field weapons and in case of need tactical atomic weapons should be used without delay. **The present agreement, under which the warheads are held by the US Forces stationed in the Federal Republic, is not suitable for present field conditions.** The responsibility of the troop commander for the security of the territory and the soldiers entrusted to him forces us to demand with all emphasis that **atomic weapons shall be used at the discretion of the troop commanders.** If such a method cannot be arranged, then the military leaders must refuse to accept responsibility for security.

In the interests of national security, preparations must be made so that the supreme military command is in a position to make its own decisions for the security of the country — if necessary independently, and if conditions demand it without consulting the cabinet or the Chancellor.

EAST-WEST BERLIN TALK HALTED BY BONN

Negotiations between West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic on visits across the Berlin frontier ground to a halt on February 27th.

The GDR had proposed that West Berliners should receive passes to visit relatives in East Berlin at Easter and Whitsun under terms similar to those of the "Christmas Agreement" by which over one million West Berliners made family visits. The West Berlin Senate, under very strong pressure from the West German Government, suspended the negotiations on February 27th for a period of six weeks.

Announcing the suspension, the West Berlin Senate stated that the talks had broken down "because of the demands made by the Soviet Zone". The GDR pointed out that this was incorrect: the GDR had suggested a renewal of the agreement which had been so succesful at Christmas.

At the February 27th meeting of the negotiators, State Secretary Erich Wendt, representing the GDR, stated: "We regret the suspension of these negotiations, which is taking place against our will. By suspending the negotiations the West Berlin Senate has bowed to the pressure of the same circles both in Bonn and West Berlin who opposed the Christmas Agreement.

"The Goverment of the GDR opposes most strongly the impermissible intervention of the West German Government, which is based upon its policy of hostility to the relaxation of tension.

"I should like to emphasise that we are ready to resume negotiations at any time if the West Berlin Senate changes its present point of view."

Old Glory in E. Berlin

The Stars and Stripes waved above an ice stadium in East Berlin on February 23rd, when the top US women speed skaters competed against the best GDR and Polish skaters. The five American stars, straight from the Winter Olympics in Innsbruck, included Jeanne Ashworth, world record holder over 500 metres. The American competitors had a clear field of wins in the sprint distances, but were topped over the long distance 1500 and 3000 metre stretches by Helga Haase of the GDR.

(GDR athletes cannot participate in sports events in the USA; they get no visas.)

Happy Birthday, William

Shakespeare's 400th birthday on April 23rd will be marked in the German Democratic Republic by a week-long festival in Weimar. The events will include performances of "King Lear", "Timon of Athens", "Hamlet" and "Twelfth Night", in German, and a special performance in English of "The Taming of the Shrew" presented by students of the Humboldt University, East Berlin. A wreath will be laid on the Weimar statue of Shakespeare by the German Shakespeare Society, which is celebrating its own 100th anniversary, and a street in Weimar will be named after the Bard.

W.Germany Puts on Pressure

The West German Government cancelled, on February 24th, its decision to establish diplomatic relations with Zanzibar. A Bonn Foreign Ministry spokesman claimed that the decision was revised following an official communication from the Zanzibar Government that it had established diplomatic relations with East Germany. A Zanzibar Government spokesman categorically denied on February 26th that any such communication had been made to the Bonn Government.

The GDR recognised Zanzibar on January 29th and the first GDR diplomatic representative presented his letters of credence to Zanzibar's Foreign Minister on February 8th.

Great Britain, the USA and six Commonwealth countries extended official recognition to the new Zanzibar Goverment on February 23rd.

The West German Government announced on February 25th that it would cease its economic aid to Ceylon — extended under an agreement signed on November 8th 1963 — on the grounds that the Ceylon Government had agreed to raise the status of the GDR trade mission in Colombo to that of a Consulate-General. This step was taken in mid-February, during the visit of the GDR goodwill mission to Ceylon.

The Bonn Goverment has for many years been conducting a campaign to isolate the GDR diplomatically from the non-socialist countries, on the basis of the so-called "Hallstein Doctrine" enunciated in 1952. Under this doctrine, West Germany regards it as an "unfriendly action" for any country to recognise the GDR Government and enter into diplomatic relations with it.

Goodwill Mission

The GDR goodwill mission which recently spent five weeks in Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon and India returned to Berlin on February 22nd. Deputy Prime Minister Bruno Leuschner, who headed the mission, stated in an interview that these countries had all expressed approval of the GDR's basic policy and agreed that the existence of two German states must be acknowledged and that the German problem could only be solved through negotiations between the two German states.

Leuschner stressed the importance of arrangements which had been made to step up GDR sales of complete industrial plant, machinery and equipment in return for increased purchases of raw materials and home-grown products of these countries. Agreements were signed with Cambodia, Ceylon and India on extending cooperation in the fields of science, education, public health, art and sports.

ANOTHER "ODESSA" KILLING?

West German Minister: Death Riddle

The Minister of Education of the West German province of Schleswig-Holstein disappeared under mysterious circumstances on February 26th and was "found drowned" in shallow water 24 hours after his disappearance.

There were strong suspicions that the minister, Herr Edo Osterloh of the Christian Democratic party, had been "disposed of" by the SS underground organisation ODESSA because he knew too much. In the past few weeks, ODESSA is believed to have had a hand in the "suicide" of three nazi criminals who were awaiting trial because of their activities during the nazi period, and who might have exposed their accomplices during the court proceedings.

Minister Osterloh came into the public eye in 1960, when he sprang to the defence of a nazi doctor accused of murder. The doctor, Werner Catel, was during the war a member of the "Reich Commission for the Killing of Children", which selected "racially-unworthy" children for killing. After the war Dr Catel became professor of pediatrics at Kiel University. When Catel's part in the wartime killings was exposed, Minister Osterloh stated: "In a moral sense, I am convinced that Dr Catel did nothing wrong. I know Dr Catel, and I think that all parents can entrust their children to his care without any qualms." ("Spiegel", West Germany, August 24th 1960).

Two of the men who "committed suicide" early in February were also implicated in the so-called "mercy-killings" or euthanasia practiced by the nazis. They were Professor Werner Heyde, chief of the euthanasia killings, found dead in his prison cell on February 13th, five days before his trial was due to begin, and Dr Friedrich Tillmann, co-accused in the trial, who fell, or was pushed, from a seventh-storey window one day earlier.

Minister Osterloh was also implicated in the Heyde case. Before his arrest Heyde had worked under the name Dr Sawade in the Schleswig-Holstein courts, although his true identity was known to many officials. The West German "Frankfurter Rundschau" reported on November 20th 1959: "Even Prime Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel and Education Minister Edo Osterloh — and perhaps the whole cabinet — had known for months that 'Dr Sawade' was the pseudonym for Professor Werner Heyde, euthanasia doctor and SS colonel, sought by the police; they did nothing about it."

(For further details on "Operation Silence" and the underground organisation ODESSA, see GERMAN REPORT for February 21st 1964.)

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There are no reliable statistics on the number of persons killed by the nazis in the course of the "euthanasia campaign", which was at its height in the years 1939-41. Estimates vary between 100,000 and 200,000. The campaign, based upon nazi theories about the purity of race, began as a drive for the liquidation of the incurably sick and insane, but rapidly expanded into mass killing of "useless mouths" in many other categories. A commission of nazi doctors was appointed to sift the death candidates. These doctors were supposed to make a thorough diagnosis, and only give their approval to killing on medical grounds. Fragmentary files which survived the war show that many of the doctors signed the forms by the hundreds every day, without leaving their Berlin offices. Reasons given for killing children included "badly modelled ears", "mongoloid folds over the eyes", "bed-wetter"; in the case of adults the space left on the prepared forms for the doctor's diagnosis included remarks such as "official of the Communist Party", and "fanatical anti-German".

On August 20th 1947 the US Military Tribunal in Nuremberg sentenced seven nazi doctors and officials to death, and nine others to long prison sentences for their part in the euthanasia killings and other crimes in the medical field. At least twenty other doctors who took part in the programme have been identified; many of them are practising medicine again in West Germany today.

Adenauer Aide Globke Named in War Crime Trials

The name of Hans Globke, prominent civil servant under Hitler and Adenauer, was mentioned in evidence in two war crimes trials now in progress in West Germany.

In Frankfurt 22 SS guards from Auschwitz concentration camp are charged with the murder of thousands of prisoners. On February 17th the historian Dr Krausnick, called as an expert witness, testified that "bureaucrats in the ministries" had been responsible for drafting nazi anti-Semitic legislation which led to the death camps. Under examination by Dr Friedrich Kaul, leading GDR lawyer, the witness admitted that Hans Globke, Adenauer's State Secretary until last summer, had been one of these bureaucrats. Dr Kaul is taking part in the trial as "friend of the court", representing GDR citizens who lost relatives in Auschwitz.

Seven days later, on February 24th, Globke's name cropped up again in another courtroom. At Limburg, where Dr Hans Hefelmann is being tried for his part in the nazi "euthanasia" killings, in which some 200,000 "unwanted Germans" were liquidated, the accused stated that he had conferred in 1939 with Hans Globke on the murders. Globke was at that time chairman of the "Reich Commission for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour". Globke had organised the dispatch of circular letters to German local authorities calling for the registration of persons to be liquidated, Dr Hefelmann testified.

This testimony was the first indication that Globke had also been implicated in the "euthanasia" crimes. Previously he had been mainly notorious for drafting the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws, and various other measures which provided the "legal basis" for the extermination of the Jews of Europe.

(Hans Globke was the key man in Adenauer's administration from 1951 to 1963. Despite massive evidence on his criminal background, Adenauer clung to him until he himself resigned.)

GDR: Disease Curbed

The medical services of the GDR have a very good record in fighting a number of diseases such as poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, cancer, diabetes, heart and circulatory disturbances which formerly took a terrible toll of human life.

Poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis) has to all intents and purposes been wiped out as a result of immunisation of the entire population under forty. There were 958 new cases in 1958, only 3 in 1961 and none at all in 1963.

Tuberculosis now claims the lives of fewer children in the GDR than anywhere else in the world. Since the introduction of regular tuberculin-testing of children and adolescents, early diagnosis and successful cure has been possible in most cases. Only 13 children died of TB in 1961, and incidence is steadily shifting to the higher age groups, mainly over thirty. Supplementary inoculations are also compulsory in some types of work — medicine, nursing, dairy farming etc.

X-ray examinations for people of all ages began some years ago; they proved so helpful in detecting TB early that in 1962 they were made compulsory for everyone over 12. The district medical authorities organise this. In Schwerin, for example, an X-ray caravan has been engaged in this work since 1951, another started work later and the district centre also runs five portable X-ray sets which can be assembled quickly and operated in the most outlying villages. 400,000 people, nearly $^2/_3$ of the population, were X-rayed in this district in 1961 (the last year before examinations became compulsory); 370 active and 540 inactive TB cases were detected.

Medical treatment and after-care of TB patients has also been vastly improved. Declining incidence of the disease has made it possible to reduce the number of beds for TB patients from over 40,000 in 1949 to about 29,000 in 1962, but expenditure has steadily increased, especially on preventive measures and rehabilitation and research. The figure was just over 230 million marks in 1962 — about $^1/_{10}$ of the annual health budget. This may seem high, but the TB death-rate has been forced down from 11.3 per 10,000 in 1949 to 1.42 in 1962. Despite much more comprehensive methods of detection, the total number of new infections registered in 1962 was only one fifth of the number registered in 1949. A relatively high registered total of TB sufferers is due to the fact that they are kept under observation for seven years after treatment ends, which is about twice as long as in many other countries.

There is a big central Institute for TB Research in Berlin-Buch, with surgical and psycho-therapeutical departments, and the central TB sanatorium in Bad Berka, newly opened in 1957, has 1,100 beds and 50 doctors. The government spends about 10.5 million marks a year on this sanatorium alone.

TB patients receive 90 per cent of their previous pay during hospitalisation, convalescence and rehabilitation, and all hospital treatment and drugs are provided free of cost.

Rehabilitation measures include regular school for children as soon as they are fit enough, suitable training for young people and re-training for older people if doctors consider they should not return to their former jobs. This is a very important psychological factor, since it prevents patients from losing touch with everyday life or worrying too much about the future. The government provides about 30 million marks a year for TB rehabilitation.

Cancer is still one of the biggest problems in the GDR, as in other countries with a highly developed health service, for it is one of the diseases whose frequency tends to increase with longer life expectancy. 32,299 deaths from cancer were registered in 1951, and 36,876 in 1960.

As long as no other methods of combatting cancer are discovered, the most important factors remain early diagnosis, quick operation and ray treatment. Preventive work in the GDR therefore centres round regular examination of as many people as possible. There are nearly 200 cancer advisory centres, and the TB X-ray centres also detect lung cancer. Examinations for cancer are not yet compulsory, but women in particular are encouraged to appear at the advisory centres regularly once a year. There is no charge for examination, even if cancer is not suspected. 1.6 million women took advantage of these facilities in the past three years.

A total of 50,753 new cases — men and women — were detected in 1962, a large proportion of them early enough for successful treatment. Cancer sufferers are regularly re-examined for five years after the onset of treatment. Sick pay also continues throughout illness.

All the university clinics and big hospitals have cancer departments and the centre of research is the new, modern Institute for Experimental Cancer Research in Berlin-Buch which was founded in 1948. The government spends 5.4 million marks a year on cancer research and treatment. The GDR recently started making its own cobalt guns for use in treating cancer.

Sinse 1957 more than 45,000 people have spent three or four weeks in the eleven convalescent homes reserved for cancer patients.

Diabetes is also on the increase. The GDR has 256 advisory centres where diabetics can get regular medical attention, laboratory check-ups, insulin treatment and so on. Broad-scale systematic examinations — the biggest attack on diabetes so far attempted in Europe — began in 1962, in an effort to catch the disease at an early stage. Of the 1.3 million people hitherto examined, 1.5 per cent were found to have diabetes.

There is a Diabetic Research Institute in Karlsburg, and two sanatoria and a number of smaller special clinics, three trade union holiday homes, one pensioners' home, one boarding school and several maternity clinics are reserved for diabetics.

Special social welfare funds are available for needy TB, cancer and diabetic sufferers such as pensioners, people who have not been in regular employment, children of poorer parents and so on, and diabetics get a slightly larger monthly allowance to help pay for special diet.

Heart and circulatory ailments, the so-called "businessmen's diseases", are amongst the most frequent causes of death or premature inability to work in the GDR, as in many other countries. An alarming number of younger people are also affected.

Deaths from these causes rose from 40,084 in 1951 to 49,384 in 1960. Nearly 5 per cent of all who reported ill in 1959 suffered from such ailments and by 1962 the figure had risen to nearly 6 per cent. Improvements in treatment have led to a slight reduction in the average duration of illness.

The big university clinics in Berlin, Leipzig and Halle are equipped to perform complicated operations on the heart and bloodvessels, and many new methods of diagnosis and treatment have been introduced. Splendid work has been done by the Centre for Radiological Techniques and Medical Electronics in Dresden since its foundation four years ago; but since these ailments are often the direct result of the strains and stresses of modern life, preventive medical propaganda emphasises simpler living, regular exercise and better organisation of work as the best means of combatting them.

ANOTHER BONNY BONN MINISTER

Bonn's Refugee Ministry, which has the reputation of being the most consistently neo-nazi ministry in the West German Government, got a new head on February 18th. The new minister is Ernst Lemmer of the Christian Democratic Union, who served as "All-German" Minister in Adenauer's last cabinet.

Lemmer's two predecessors in the post, Professor Theodor Oberländer and Hans Krüger, both had to be sacked after the GDR exposed their personal participation in nazi crimes.

In contrast to his two predecessors, there is no record of Ernst Lemmer having been a member of the Nazi Party; there is documentary evidence, however, that he cooperated closely with the nazi leadership, particularly with propaganda minister Goebbels, during the nazi period.

Goebbels noted on April 23rd 1942 in his personal diary (edited by Louis Lochner and published in London in 1948) that Lemmer had accompanied General Hirosi Oshima, Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, on an extended journey through south-eastern Europe, at that time under nazi occupation. Goebbels' diary makes clear that Lemmer had not travelled with General Oshima simply in his capacity as a journalist, but primarily as an agent of the Propaganda Ministry. The diary entry states that Lemmer submitted a detailed report on the journey to the Propaganda Ministry, stressing that Oshima had given his fullest support to Axis policy.

This was not Lemmer's first job for the nazi Propaganda Ministry. Since he had something of a reputation abroad as a non-nazi liberal, the Propaganda Ministry used him to plant stories in the foreign press, and he cooperated knowingly and willingly in this. Here is one specific case:

On November 2nd 1936, Herr Lemmer informed Herr Diewerge, second-in-command of the Propaganda Ministry, that he had written an article for the Swiss "Berner Bund" on the question of Jewish persecution in Germany, and stating: "I believe that the formulation meets our wishes, but is so expressed that it will really be published in the liberal Swiss paper which I serve. Heil Hitler, Ernst Lemmer."

Lemmer's article criticised newspapers outside Germany which were exposing the nazi persecution of the Jews and commented: "The situation of the 400,000 Jews still living in Germany will certainly not be helped by such excesses on the part of irresponsible writers".

The "Berner Bund" published the article on November 5th 1936; on the same day Herr Diewerge reported to his chief Josef Goebbels: "I have arranged for the publication of this article, which is written from the point of view of a democrat worried about the fate of the Jews in Germany and will therefore be quoted by a large number of foreign journals with which links have already been formed. The article makes it clear that such comments (anti-nazi articles, ed.) will certainly lead to a worsening of the position of the Jews in Germany."

Throughout the war Ernst Lemmer was Berlin correspondent for a number of pro-nazi papers in occupied Europe, including "Soir", a quisling paper in occupied Brussels, and "Pester Lloyd", one of the most influential papers in fascist Hungary. As a German citizen he could only do this job with Goebbel's approval.

Here are just two extracts from hundreds of propaganda articles he wrote for "Pester Lloyd". On Hitler's birthday, April 20th 1939, he wrote:

"Adolf Hitler has become within one decade a great historic figure. His way as a politician has been marked by instinct and cleverness. Hitler created the Greater German Reich, ensured its total internal unity, and strengthened its exterior power in an unparalleled fashion."

On June 20th 1944, when Hitler's "buzz-bombs" began to bring death and destruction to southern England, Ernst Lemmer reported:

"There can be no surprise that the use of the new offensive weapon against Britain has greatly pleased the German population. Now the time of retribution has come. We can now accept the official assurance that the first use of the new German weapon on June 16th was only a beginning, and that we may expect more."

Footnote: *West German propagandists frequently claim that GDR disclosures about leading nazis and nazi collaborators in the Bonn Government are kept secret and then produced at the right moment in order to embarrass the Bonn Government; it is suggested that if the GDR would only open its files for western inspection, then incriminated persons would not be appointed to key posts. There are two points to be made about this claim:*

1. The GDR has repeatedly in the past few years offered to make its files on old nazis available for inspection by any properly authorised West German officials or investigation commission; this offer has never been taken up.

2. The information about Minister Ernst Lemmer detailed above has all been in the public domain for years; the "Goebbels Diary" was published in New York, London and Zurich in 1948; Lemmer's correspondence with the nazi Propaganda Ministry was published by the GDR on February 4th 1958 (see GERMAN REPORT February 14th 1958); and his writings in the "Pester Lloyd" were brought to the attention of the world at a GDR press conference on March 16th 1962. Lemmer has never disputed the authenticity of any of this material, and Chancellor Erhard has appointed him to his cabinet in full awareness of his nazi past.

Life sentence for Bomber

The Supreme Court of the GDR passed a life sentence on a West German neo-nazi terrorist on November 26th, after he had been found guilty of bomb outrages in East Berlin. The terrorist, 22-year-old Herbert Kuehn of Essen, was carrying a loaded revolver when he was arrested in flagranti in East Berlin in late 1963.

The court heard how Kuehn had laid bombs for the OAS, the right-wing French terror organisation, and for the "South Tyrol Liberation Movement" in Italy, before he moved with his bombs to Berlin. Evidence was given that his activities had been condoned and assisted by the West German "Office for the Protection of the Constitution", the Bonn Secret Service. In East Berlin Kuehn laid several bombs, one of which wrecked the offices of the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

In his testimony, Kuehn reported that he had visited Britain in 1961, and contacted Mr Tyndall of the British National Socialist Party. Tyndall showed little interest in his offer of cooperation, Kuehn said.

Documentation

From Potsdam to Multilateral Force

1. Potsdam

Starting point for any consideration of rearmament in West Germany must be the Potsdam Agreement, concluded on August 2nd 1945 by Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, and later adhered to by France. Relevant paragraphs of this document are:

"German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the allies will take ... the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world ...

"The purposes of the occupation of Germany ... are:

1. The complete disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. To these ends all German land, naval and air forces ... with all their organisations, staffs and institutions, including the General Staff, the Officer's Corps, Reserve Corps, military schools, war veterans associations ... shall be completely and finally abolished ... The maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented."

In the immediate post-war years, the demilitarisation stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement were complied with, by and large, throughout Germany.

2. The Decision to Re-Arm Germany

In September 1949, in breach of the Potsdam Agreement, which had laid down that Germany be treated as a whole, the western powers sponsored creation of a separate West German state, the German Federal Republic. West German and western allied spokesmen soon began to suggest publicly that some form of West German armed force be set up. They used arguments similar to those used today in support of the Multilateral Force — that the West Germans must be given some say in the matter if they were to be kept under control, otherwise they would proceed alone.

A survey published by the Rand Corporation, USA, in 1957 summarised the situation in 1950 as follows:

"Towards the end of 1950, the American policy of disarming Germany, which had prevailed since the end of World War Two, was reversed for political, strategic and economic reasons. As late as the spring of that year, both the US Secretary of State and the US High Commissioner for Germany had publicly declared that America did not intend to change its policy of keeping Germany demilitarised. But in August the Council of Europe approved a proposal by Churchill to create a European army, and the need for a German contribution to western defence was being strongly urged in the Pentagon. Strictly military considerations led to the change of American policy. On August 23rd 1950, the US High Commissioner for Germany announced that the defence arrangements for Western Europe must provide for German participation, and a few days later in New York, Dean Acheson proposed to the foreign ministers of Britain and France that approximately ten German divisions be raised and incorporated in NATO" **("German Rearmament and Atomic War", Rand Corporation, New York 1957).**

There followed nearly four years of negotiations on raising West German units to be incorporated into a "European Army"; the plan was opposed in many countries and it finally broke down in August 1954 when the French Assembly refused to ratify the treaty for a "European Defence Community" (EDC). In the meantime, however, public opinion in western countries had been prepared for the idea of West German re-armament; a West German General Staff had been set up and all preparations made to raise a West German army under some guise.

3. The Brussels-Paris Treaties

Immediately after the EDC plan broke down, a British proposal led to signature of the Brussels-Paris Treaties of October 1954. These consist of a complicated series of documents, letters and declarations, the effect of which was to permit West German re-armament. *(Full text of the agreements: British White Paper Cmd. 9304, October 1954.)*

The legal formula which permitted West German rearmament was almost farcical: it consisted of an amendment to the Brussels Treaty of March 17th 1948, concluded between Britain, France and the Benelux states. The 1948 treaty had as one of its main aims "to take such steps as may be held necessary in the event of renewal by Germany of a policy of aggression". This sentence was amended in 1954 to read "to promote the unity and to encourage the progressive integration of Europe", and West Germany was invited to sign.

People in many NATO countries were still disquieted by the thought that West Germany was to be remilitarised; the documents of the Paris Conference of October 1954 therefore included some stipulations limiting West German rearmament. These were probably the most intricate and confused part of the documents. They took the form of a unilateral declaration by West German Chancellor Adenauer — (Annexes I, II and III to Protocol III of the "Documents Relating to the Revision and Extension of the Brussels Treaty") — pledging that West Germany would not "manufacture in its territory any atomic weapons, chemical weapons or biological weapons", nor various other categories of weapons such as long-range missiles, guided missiles, influence mines, warships exceeding 3000 tons, submarines exceeding 350 tons, and strategic bombers.

This West German pledge was presented as a guarantee that West Germany would not have certain weapons, particularly atomic weapons. But it was in fact full of loopholes, including the following:

a. West Germany only undertook not to manufacture these weapons "in its territory"; it was left free to develop and manufacture them abroad.

b. The pledge did not prevent equipment of the West German army with nuclear weapons if these were developed outside Germany or supplied by another power.

c. The bans on missiles, warships etc. could be amended or cancelled by decision of a two-thirds majority on the Council of Western European Union.

Since the conclusion of the Brussels-Paris treaties nine years ago, West Germany has made full use of these loopholes. Nuclear weapon development has been pursued in cooperation with France and other countries; missiles and nuclear warheads have been obtained from the USA (though the warheads are still under nominal US control), and almost all the weapon restrictions have been modified by Western European Union.

4. Formation of the Bundeswehr

With the conclusion of the Paris Treaty it was possible to set up the Bundeswehr, the new West German

armed forces. The rank-and-file consisted of a mixture of conscripts and volunteers; the upper echelons of the officers' corps were filled exclusively by generals and admirals who had served in the armed forces of the nazi state. A special board was set up to select officer candidates and to give them a "democratic bill of health". The effectiveness of this selection board can be measured by the fact that the first Inspector General of the Bundeswehr was General Adolf Heusinger, formerly Hitler's operations chief; his successor was General Friedrich Foertsch, who was sentenced after the war to 25 years imprisonment for war crimes.

When the new Bundeswehr was formed, three features were played up, especially abroad:

1. The Bundeswehr would be limited in size (250,000 men was the top figure generally given);

2. The armament of the Bundeswehr would be strictly limited;

3. The Bundeswehr would never get nuclear arms.

This is how these features worked out in practice:

1. The alleged limits were soon exceeded. The annual report of the Federal Defence Ministry published on December 19th 1963 showed a total Bundeswehr strength of 404,000 officers and men.

2. The question of "arms limitation" has been dealt with in section 3 above. Here are some of the modifications to the list of arms restrictions laid down in the Paris Treaty: In April 1958, Western European Union (WEU) approved West German manufacture of anti-tank missiles; in October 1958, WEU approved West German surface-air missiles; in December 1960, WEU approved West German construction of fighter-bombers big enough to deliver strategic bombs; in May 1961, WEU doubled the permitted size of West German warships to 6,000 tons; in October 1963, WEU approved West German manufacture of 1000 ton U-boats, three times the size originally allowed.

3. The alleged ban on nuclear weapons began to dissolve as soon as the West German armed forces were formed. At the NATO meeting in December 1956, the West German Defence Minister made the first public plea for nuclear arms for West Germany; in April 1957, West German Chancellor Adenauer claimed that West Germany had a right to atomic weapons "since these are only a further development of modern artillery" ("New York Times", April 6th 1957).

On March 18th 1958, the West German Minister of Defence anounced the purchase from the USA of 40 Matador missiles with nuclear warheads (range about 600 miles) and 300 Nike rockets with nuclear warheads. The warheads remained under nominal US control. The West German Parliament endorsed this step on March 25th 1958.

The West German forces have since been armed with modern US nuclear missiles as these became available. It was announced in Washington on March 1st 1960 that the German Federal Government had ordered a large quantity of Mace missiles (range 1000 miles) and was already receiving Sergeant missiles (range 70 miles). Bigger rockets were on their way. On January 3rd 1964, the American news agency UPI reported that members of the Bundeswehr were in Oklahoma training on Pershing missiles (range 500 miles, warhead 0.5 megatons, about 25 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb).

5. The Multilateral Force

The men who run the West German armed forces were not satisfied with this; they had the missiles, but the warheads remained under nominal US control. They wanted more direct control. Public opinion in nearly all other NATO countries, and governments in some of them, were opposed to giving West German generals a free hand with nuclear arms; so they looked for a loophole.

This presented itself in 1960, when US military men and politicians began to canvas the idea of a "NATO missile force". US Secretary of State Christian Herter detailed the idea at the NATO Council meeting in Paris in December 1960. He suggested "creation of a special missile force which would be truly multilateral, i.e. under multilateral ownership, financing and control." This plan was welcomed in West Germany; the West German generals were confident that they could dominate this multilateral force, since they provided the main share of NATO forces in Western Europe. There was opposition from France, intent on developing its own nuclear force, and from Britain, which already had an independent nuclear force, and considerable reluctance in other NATO countries, where it was realised that this would make West Germany — the dominant European partner in NATO — even more powerful.

During 1961 and 1962 the idea of a NATO multilateral force, or MLF, took increasingly concrete form and, after various forms had been suggested and rejected, West German Defence Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel suggested the use of surface naval vessels. (Von Hassel claimed this as his idea at a press conference in Bonn on March 7th 1963.)

An important indication of some US thinking on MLF was given by Mr W. W. Rostow, Chairman of the State Department Policy Planning Committee, in a speech in Philadelphia on March 28th 1963, when he urged that: "We must take active steps to bring our European partners more deeply and directly into the nuclear business", and referred to the West German generals as "proud and free men now fully recovered from the economic consequences of the Second World War". Reproving those who asked whose finger would be on the trigger of the nuclear missiles of MLF, Mr Rostow said: "These ultimate questions cannot and should not now be settled."

Since that date, intensive planning has been going on to set up the MLF although, according to "Keesing's Contemporary Archives", London, July 13th 1963, "only the West German and Turkish Governments have shown active interest in the proposal."

On April 8th 1963, the Soviet Union protested to the USA and West Germany against the MLF plans which, it said, would mean "nullification of disarmament negotiations for at least ten years". If the western powers continued a policy of spreading nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union would be forced to take appropriate action.

The GDR has also declared its complete opposition to arming West Germany with nuclear weapons through the back door of MLF. In a foreign policy speech on January 3rd 1964, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the GDR State Council, pointed out that multilateral nuclear armament was one of the main obstacles to rapprochement and peace in central Europe. On January 6th 1964, the GDR proposed that both German states should renounce nuclear arms; the proposal was rejected by West Germany.

Here, in conclusion, is a short quotation from a letter from William Warbey, Labour MP, published on December 17th 1963 in "The Guardian":

"What cannot be denied is that West Germany is well on her way to becoming the strongest European power outside the Soviet Union, and that she is now vociferously clamouring to be treated as an 'equal ally' in NATO. This represents a complete break with the spirit and intentions of the 'complex deal' negotiated in 1954, and relieves the Labour Party and the next Labour Government of the obligation to protect West Germany against attack which was the other side of that deal."

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

In December last year, "Time" magazine printed a more than usually weird article about conditions in the GDR, claiming that "prices in East Germany are about four to five times as high as in West Germany". Since that date an Italian living in Berlin has been waging a one-man campaign to have this wild statement corrected. In the course of correspondence with "Time", which we reprinted on February 7th, the Italian quoted figures to show that "Time" was all wrong, and "Time" without bothering about figures, claimed that it was right. No correction has so far been made in the pages of "Time". The reason for this refusal to face facts was perhaps explained by "Time" itself on February 14th in a review of a new book on human behaviour:

"Communication of facts is generally ineffective against predispositions."

Lobster

A few days ago I was idly watching GDR television, waiting for the news to come on; with me was an American who had just arrived in East Berlin for a quick look "behind the Iron Curtain" who had not seen anything yet.

We were chatting, and only listening with half an ear to the television chef telling housewives of new things to cook, when I heard him say that his next dish was "Californian Salad". We stopped talking, and listened. The eyes of my American visitor, who had been nurtured on the press stories of "nothing to eat in East Germany but wilting cabbage" grew rounder and rounder as the TV chef detailed the ingredients for this dish — a packet of peaches from the deep freeze, roasted almonds, mayonnaise, and to top it all, four rock lobster tails (imported, frozen, from Cuba).

It all seemed a very far cry from a diet of dry bread crusts. I should hasten to add that all ingredients are on the market here at reasonable prices: otherwise the TV chef would not have recommended them. And for non-lobster lovers (or should it be lobster non-lovers?) I should add that this is not a case of "come the revolution, you'll eat lobster and like it": there are plenty of other varieties of seafood available.

I suppose there may be a few readers who do not recognise the "come the revolution" allusion above, so I had better explain. The story goes that a socialist speaker was lauding a new social system. "Today only the capitalists can afford to eat strawberries; come the revolution every working man will eat strawberries" said the speaker. "But I don't like strawberries", interjected a heckler. "Come the revolution, you'll eat strawberries and like it", shouted the speaker.

Four-Way Beggar

East Berliners have had the unusual experience recently of being able to compare four different versions of what is basically the same play. The Komische Oper (Comic Opera) has been presenting an excellent performance of John Gay's 200-year-old "Beggar's Opera". The Berliner Ensemble, one of the best theatres in the world, has for some years had an outstanding version of Bertolt Brecht's "Threepenny Opera", based on Gay, on its repertoire. Rerun cinemas have been showing the 1931 filming of the "Threepenny Opera", which annoyed Brecht but caught some of the right atmosphere, and is a film classic in its own right. The fourth version, which has just gone on show, is the recent West German re-make of Brecht's play. The only one of the four not worth seeing is the West German film, which has turned the Gay-Brecht classic into a sloppy musical.

Compensation

In past years the West German Government has paid compensation to many categories of Germans who were "victims of post-war measures". The recipients ranged from poor dear Gestapo men who lost their posts at the hands of Allied denazification commissions to people who were imprisoned in various countries for war crimes.

Casting around for some other group of nazis who did not do so well out of the war as they expected, the Bonn authorities have come up with a fit subject for sympathy — the "Aryanisers".

During the nazi period, particularly during the early years when there was great pressure to exclude Jews from the economic life of Germany, but the final annihilation programme had not yet gone into operation, Jews were prevailed upon to sell their property — anything from a small shop to a factory — to guaranteed pure-blooded Teutons. The pressure rose, and the price fell, as the nazi persecution progressed, and most of the properties went for a song to the cronies of local nazi bosses.

After the war this "Aryanised" property was confiscated from its nazi owners. Now, believe it or not, the West German Parliament passed on February 21st, on first reading, a bill designed to compensate these nazi profiteers for the property they lost. The bill, it is true, contains a paragraph stating that compensation will only be paid if the Jewish property was taken over by the nazi appointee "legally and for a fair price", but this paragraph means little or nothing. The German civil service is notorious for having provided a watertight "legal" basis for even the most outrageous actions, and in most cases Jewish owners were forced to sign declarations that they were disposing of their property entirely of their own free will and that they were quite satisfied with the purchase price, even when it was a derisory handful of pfennigs.

Fair Sentence

What is a fair sentence for someone convicted of mass murder? A Bonn court on February 20th gave its verdict; SS officer Wilhelm Döring, found guilty of murdering 187 Soviet Jews during the war, was sentenced to four years imprisonment. The court released him immediately, since he had spent three years in prison awaiting trial.

It is not without interest to note that before his arrest in 1960, Herr Döring was chief of detective police in the West German town of Siegburg.

Joke Over

I should like to give wider circulation to a new anecdote now going the rounds: Two anti-Castro Cuban exiles were having their shoes cleaned in Miami, and discussing the prospects. One was looking forward to taking over his factory again in Havana now that it has been modernised; the other was making plans for resuming control of his sugar plantations. They noted that the shoe-black was roaring with laughter, and asked him why. "I am the Czar's nephew," he replied.

Edited and published fortnightly by John Peet. Democratic German Report, Krausenstrasse 9, Berlin W 8, Telephone 22 29 68. Printed in Germany by (204). Veröffentlicht unter Lizenz-Nr. 1261 beim Presseamt des Ministerpräsidenten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.

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